

Message Text

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1. HERewith FULL TEXT JONATHAN KANDELL FRONT PAGE BYLINER
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NEW YORK TIMES MONDAY MARCH 28 HEADED "BRAZIL BITTER AT U.S.
EFFORT TO IMPOSE NUCLEAR CURB."

2. THE ATTEMPT BY THE UNITED STATES TO FORMULATE A POLICY
AIMED AT PREVENTING THE PROLIFERATION OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS
AMONG DEVELOPING NATIONS IS MEETING ITS STERNEST TEST IN
BRAZIL.

3. MORE THAN ANYWHERE ELSE IN THE THIRD WORLD, THE
BRAZILIAN CASE WEAVES THE VARIOUS POLITICAL, ECONOMIC AND
TECHNOLOGICAL STRANDS THAT MAKE THE ISSUE SO INTRACTABLE.

4. BRAZIL HAS TRADITIONALLY BEEN THE STRONGEST POLITICAL
AND ECONOMIC ALLY OF THE UNITED STATES IN SOUTH AMERICA.
WITH 110 MILLION PEOPLE, A TERRITORY LARGER THAN THE
CONTINENTAL UNITED STATES, AND ONE OF THE MOST DYNAMIC
ECONOMIES IN THE DEVELOPING WORLD, THE COUNTRY HAS REALISTIC
ASPIRATIONS TO EMERGE AS A GLOBAL POWER BY THE 21ST CENTURY.

5. WITH AN EYE ON THIS AMBITIOUS GOAL, BRAZIL SIGNED AN
ACCORD TWO YEARS AGO WITH WEST GERMANY FOR THE
PURCHASE OF UP TO EIGHT NUCLEAR REACTORS AND PLANTS TO

ENRICH AND REPROCESS NUCLEAR FUELS.

6. IT IS THE VIEW OF THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION THAT THE ACCORD WILL PROVIDE THE BRAZILIANS WITH TECHNOLOGY THAT COULD BE USED TO MANUFACTURE NUCLEAR EXPLOSIVES, AND THAT IT MUST BE ALTERED NOT ONLY BECAUSE OF FEARS OVER FUTURE BRAZILIAN INTENTIONS BUT TO LAY THE GROUNDWORK FOR THE PREVENTION OF NUCLEAR PROLIFERATION ELSEWHERE.

7. FROM THE BRAZILIAN VIEWPOINT, THE ACCORD IS ESSENTIAL IF THIS COUNTRY, WHICH HAS LITTLE OIL, IS TO MEET ITS RISING ENERGY NEEDS AND MAKE RAPID TECHNOLOGICAL STRIDES.

8. SOME RANKING BRAZILIAN OFFICIALS BELIEVE THAT THE UNCLASSIFIED

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CARTER ADMINISTRATION'S ATTEMPT TO ALTER THE NUCLEAR ACCORD IS PART OF A WIDER EFFORT AIMED AT PREVENTING BRAZIL FROM ACHIEVING ITS DESTINY AS A GREAT AND INDEPENDENT POWER.

9. THE BRAZILIAN EFFORT TO EMERGE FROM UNDERDEVELOPMENT "WILL NOT BE BLOCKED BY ANY DIFFICULTIES, NOT EVEN BY THE INCOMPREHENSION OF OUR TRADITIONAL ALLIES," ASSERTED BRIG. DELIO JARDIM DE MATTOS, THE AIR FORCE CHIEF OF STAFF.

10. WITH STARTLING SPEED, DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND BRAZIL HAVE REACHED THEIR LOWEST POINT IN 13 YEARS OF RIGHT-WING MILITARY RULE HERE.

11. LAST WEEK, THE BRAZILIANS CANCELED THEIR 25-YEAR-OLD MILITARY ASSISTANCE PACT WITH THE UNITED STATES AND REJECTED ANY FURTHER AMERICAN ARMS AID BECAUSE OF A STATE DEPARTMENT REPORT CRITICIZING THE HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION HERE.

12. THAT INCIDENT HAS BEEN FOLLOWED BY HINTS BY BRAZILIAN GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS THAT FURTHER TENSION WITH WASHINGTON COULD LEAD TO THE RECALL OF BOTH COUNTRIES' AMBASSADORS, OR EVEN A RUPTURE IN DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS.

13. "KEEP YOUR EYE ON THE NUCLEAR ACCORD--THE REST IS ALL THEATRICALS," SAID A WELL-INFORMED LATIN AMERICAN DIPLOMAT, REPEATING THE WIDELY ACCEPTED VIEW HERE THAT THE BRAZILIANS ARE ENGAGED IN "BRINKMANSHIP" AIMED AT IMPRESSING WASHINGTON AND BONN WITH THEIR RESOLVE TO MAINTAIN THE NUCLEAR AGREEMENT INTACT.

14. BY RESPONDING SO VIGOROUSLY TO THE STATE DEPARTMENT REPORT, WHICH WAS DRAWN UP UNDER A 1976 LAW THAT REQUIRES SUCH REPORTS ON ALL NATIONS SCHEDULED TO RECEIVE UNITED STATES MILITARY AID, THE BRAZILIAN GOVERNMENT AROUSED NATIONALISTIC SENTIMENT AGAINST AMERICAN DIPLOMATIC

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INITIATIVES HERE.

15. EVEN LEADERS OF THE CENTER-LEFT OPPOSITION PARTY, WHO HAVE COMPLAINED BITTERLY IN THE PAST OF THE USE OF TORTURE AND ARBITRARY DETENTIONS BY THE MILITARY REGIME, CAME OUT AGAINST THE STATE DEPARTMENT REPORT AS AN AFFRONT TO THE SOVEREIGNTY OF BRAZIL. THE OPPOSITION HAS SUPPORTED THE GOVERNMENT EVEN MORE STRONGLY ON THE INVOLABILITY OF THE NUCLEAR ACCORD.

16. IN REACTING SO VEHEMENTLY, THE BRAZILIANS MAY ALSO HAVE HAD THEIR EYE ON WEST GERMAN PUBLIC OPINION. BY BURYING THE HUMAN-RIGHTS ISSUE TEMPORARILY BENEATH A SUDDEN DISPLAY OF NATIONAL UNITY, THE BRAZILIANS HAVE UNDERCUT GERMAN CRITICS WHO MIGHT HAVE ASSAILED THE IDEA OF PROVIDING A REPRESSIVE MILITARY REGIME WITH THE TECHNOLOGY TO BUILD A NUCLEAR BOMB.

17. IN BOTH BRAZIL AND WEST GERMANY, THE PREVAILING PUBLIC OPINION APPEARS TO BE THAT THE UNITED STATES IS ACTING IN A HEAVY-HANDED, DOMINEERING FASHION TO PRESERVE ITS ECONOMIC HEGEMONY IN NUCLEAR PLANTS AND THEIR SALE ABROAD.

18. THE UNITED STATES OBJECTIONS TO THE NUCLEAR ACCORD ARE FOCUSED ON THE WEST GERMAN DECISION TO SELL THE BRAZILIANS AN URANIUM ENRICHMENT PLANT AND A FACILITY TO REPROCESS SPENT FUEL, FROM WHICH PLUTONIUM COULD BE EXTRACTED AND POTENTIALLY USED FOR THE PRODUCTION OF NUCLEAR EXPLOSIVES.

19. EVEN IF THE CONTROVERSIAL PART OF THE ACCORD WAS ALTERED, THE BRAZILIANS COULD CONCEIVABLY SPEND THE MONEY, TIME AND EFFORT TO DEVELOP THEIR OWN ENRICHMENT AND REPROCESSING FACILITIES AND EVENTUALLY GATHER ENOUGH MATERIAL FOR A NUCLEAR EXPLOSIVE, MUCH THE WAY INDIA HAS DONE.

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20. BUT UNITED STATES OFFICIALS HAVE NOTED THAT THE WEST GERMAN AGREEMENT SHORTCUTS THIS PROCESS AND SIMPLY HANDS TO THE BRAZILIANS THE TECHNOLOGY THAT COULD BE USED FOR MILITARY PURPOSES.

21. BOTH THE BRAZILIANS AND THE WEST GERMANS POINT OUT THAT THE ACCORD CONTAINS STRICT SAFEGUARDS--APPROVED BY THE INTERNATIONAL ATOMIC ENERGY AGENCY--PROHIBITING THE DIVERSION OF NUCLEAR EQUIPMENT OR MATERIAL FOR THE PRODUCTION OF WEAPONS.

22. THE UNITED STATES CRITICS OF THE ACCORD QUESTION WHETHER THE UNDERSTAFFED ATOMIC ENERGY AGENCY, WITH NO MANDATE TO ENFORCE ITS FINDINGS, CAN EFFECTIVELY POLICE THE SAFEGUARDS. -- -

23. THE ALTERNATIVE OFFERED BY THE UNITED STATES--MOST RECENTLY BY PRESIDENT CARTER IN HIS SPEECH AT THE UNITED NATIONS--IS A MULTINATIONAL ACCORD TO FURNISH COUNTRIES LIKE BRAZIL WITH NUCLEAR FUELS AND PROVIDE FOR THE DISPOSAL OR REPROCESSING OF SPENT FUELS.

24. BEYOND DOUBTS OVER THE TECHNOLOGICAL ASPECTS OF THE GERMAN-BRAZILIAN NUCLEAR ACCORD, THERE IS ALSO CONCERN OVER FUTURE BRAZILIAN ATTITUDES TOWARD NUCLEAR WEAPONS, PARTICULARLY AMONG THE RANKING MILITARY OFFICERS. THESE CONTINUE TO EXERCISE A VIRTUAL MONOPOLY OF POWER IN QUESTIONS INVOLVING NATIONAL SECURITY.

25. BRAZIL HAS SYSTEMATICALLY RESISTED ATTEMPTS TO RESTRICT ITS NUCLEAR OPTIONS. IT HAS REFUSED TO SIGN THE 1968 TREATY TO HALT THE SPREAD OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS BECAUSE THE TREATY "SEEKS TO LEGITIMIZE A DISTRIBUTION OF POWER THAT IS UNACCEPTABLE," ACCORDING TO A RECENT BRAZILIAN GOVERNMENT WHITE PAPER.

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26. BRAZILIAN OFFICIALS POINT OUT THAT THEIR COUNTRY DID SIGN THE 1967 TLALTELOLCO TREATY PROHIBITING NUCLEAR WEAPONS IN LATIN AMERICA. BUT THAT TREATY SPECIFICALLY PERMITS THE DETONATION OF "PEACEFUL" NUCLEAR DEVICES, WHICH ARE VIRTUALLY INDISTINGUISHABLE FROM A BOMB. MOREOVER, THE BRAZILIANS HAVE NEVER RATIFIED THE TLALTELOLCO TREATY.

27. THERE IS A WIDESPREAD ASSUMPTION AMONG BRAZILIAN BUSINESSMEN, JOURNALISTS, POLITICIANS AND OTHERS THAT THE MILITARY ESTABLISHMENT WANTS THE BOMB, OR AT LEAST THE OPTION OF HAVING ONE. THERE ARE FEW BRAZILIANS OR FOREIGN DIPLOMATS WHO WOULD CATEGORICALLY ASSERT THAT BRAZIL WILL NEVER WANT TO HAVE NUCLEAR WEAPONS.

28. THIS ASSUMPTION HAS BEEN FUELED BY THE DETERMINATION SHOWN BY THE MILITARY TO ACHIEVE GREAT-POWER STATUS FOR BRAZIL IN ECONOMIC, POLITICAL AND MILITARY TERMS. ALREADY,

RANKING BRAZILIAN OFFICERS HAVE ASSERTED THAT THEIR COUNTRY HAS A RESPONSIBILITY TO ASSURE THE SECURITY OF THE SOUTH ATLANTIC--A DEFENSE CONCEPT THAT DOES NOT SEEM POSSIBLE WITHOUT A NUCLEAR CAPABILITY.

29. BRAZIL HAS ALSO MADE GREAT STRIDES IN DEVELOPING ITS

OWN ARMS INDUSTRY, PRODUCING ARTILLERY, ARMORED VEHICLES, ROCKETS AND JET PLANES. PROJECTS ARE UNDER WAY TO DEVELOP MISSILES AND MORE ADVANCED JET FIGHTER-BOMBERS.

30. AS SEVERAL GENERALS NOTED IN THE AFTERMATH OF THE ABROGATION BY BRAZIL OF THE MILITARY ASSISTANCE PACT WITH THE UNITED STATES, THE AGREEMENT WAS ALREADY CONSIDERED "OBSOLETE" HERE AND WAS ALMOST ENDED BY THE BRAZILIANS TWO YEARS AGO. ALMOST \$50 MILLION IN UNITED STATES ARMS CREDITS HERE REMAIN UNUSED.

31. THE BRAZILIAN GOVERNMENT HAS REPEATEDLY DENIED ANY UNCLASSIFIED

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INTENTION TO BUILD NUCLEAR WEAPONS OR TO USE THE ACCORD WITH THE GERMANS FOR ANYTHING BESIDES PEACEFUL USES.

32. AS UNITED STATES OFFICIALS AND OTHER NUCLEAR SPECIALISTS HAVE CONCEDED, THE BRAZILIAN ARGUMENTS IN FAVOR OF THE ECONOMIC AND TECHNOLOGICAL ADVANTAGES OF THE NUCLEAR ACCORD ARE IMPRESSIVE.

33. ALTHOUGH IN THE UNITED STATES DOUBTS HAVE ARISEN IN THE LAST TWO OR THREE YEARS ABOUT THE SAFETY OF NUCLEAR REACTORS AND THE PROBLEMS INVOLVED IN THE DISPOSAL OF NUCLEAR WASTES, FEW SUCH CONCERNS ARE EXPRESSED IN BRAZIL.

34. THE COUNTRY ALREADY IMPORTS ABOUT 80 PERCENT OF THE OIL IT CONSUMES. ITS HYDROELECTRIC PROGRAM IS AMONG THE LARGEST IN THE WORLD, BUT CONVENIENT SOURCES FOR NEW HYDROELECTRIC STATIONS ARE BEING EXHAUSTED.

35. AS A RESULT, THE GOVERNMENT HAS ANNOUNCED THAT THE EIGHT REACTORS CONTRACTED FROM THE WEST GERMANS WILL ACCOUNT FOR 25 PERCENT OF THE COUNTRY'S ELECTRICAL ENERGY BY 1990. PLANS ARE UNDER WAY TO EXPAND THIS NUCLEAR CAPACITY TO COVER 40 PERCENT OF ALL ENERGY CONSUMPTION BY 2010.

36. THE GOVERNMENT HAS ALSO POINTED OUT THAT THE ENRICHMENT AND REPROCESSING FACILITIES ARE NEEDED TO ASSURE INDEPENDENCE AND A STABLE INTERNAL SOURCE OF FUEL FOR THIS PROGRAM, PARTICULARLY IN THE AFTERMATH OF THE WORLD PETROLEUM CRISIS.

37. "RECENT HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENTS HAVE DEMONSTRATED THE DANGERS OF RELYING HEAVILY ON EXTERNAL SOURCES FOR THE SATISFACTION OF THE BASIC INPUT NEEDS OF THE ECONOMY," STATED A GOVERNMENT WHITE PAPER ON NUCLEAR ENERGY PUBLISHED LAST WEEK. "TO AVOID WHAT HAPPENED IN THE CASE OF OIL, IT UNCLASSIFIED

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WAS IMPERATIVE THAT THE SOLUTION IN THE CASE OF NUCLEAR ENERGY BE ONE THAT ENABLED THE COUNTRY TO REACH THE INDISPENSABLE AUTARKY IN THE MEDIUM TERM."

38. "IN OTHER WORDS, IT WAS NOT ACCEPTABLE TO REPLACE ONE FORM OF DEPENDENCE FOR ANOTHER," THE WHITE PAPER CONTINUED. "THE ECONOMIC GROWTH OF THE COUNTRY, OR ITS MERE SUBSISTENCE, CANNOT BE DEPENDENT UPON THIRD COUNTRIES' DECISIONS AS TO PRICES AND SUPPLIES OF ESSENTIAL FUELS."

39. BRAZIL'S RELUCTANCE TO ACCEPT THE AMERICAN ARGUMENT IN FAVOR OF A MULTINATIONAL SOURCE FOR THE ENRICHMENT AND REPROCESSING OF NUCLEAR FUELS IS BASED ON RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN THE UNITED STATES.

40. "WHAT GUARANTEES DOES BRAZIL HAVE THAT THE AMERICAN CONGRESS OR SOME ENVIRONMENT GROUP OR THE NUCLEAR INDUSTRY ITSELF WILL NOT INTERFERE WITH THE DELIVERY OF ENRICHED FUELS TO THIS COUNTRY?" ASKED A BRAZILIAN NUCLEAR EXPERT.

41. ALREADY THE NUCLEAR REGULATORY COMMISSION, THE AUTONOMOUS UNITED STATES AGENCY THAT GRANTS EXPORT LICENSES FOR ENRICHED ATOMIC FUELS, HAS HELD UP A SHIPMENT TO BRAZIL. THE SLOWDOWN IN THE GROWTH OF THE UNITED STATES NUCLEAR PLANT INDUSTRY HAS ALSO RAISED QUESTIONS ABOUT THE ABILITY OF THE UNITED STATES TO SUPPLY ENRICHED FUEL FOR THE GROWING NUMBER OF NUCLEAR PLANTS ABROAD.

42. IF THE UNITED STATES NUCLEAR INDUSTRY SHOULD OPT FOR FUTURE PLANTS THAT DO NOT USE PLUTONIUM AS A FUEL, MANY BRAZILIAN NUCLEAR EXPERTS ASK, WHERE WILL THAT LEAVE THIS COUNTRY'S PROGRAM, WHICH DOES ENVISION THE USE OF PLUTONIUM.

43. THERE ARE ALREADY IMPORTANT DOUBTS OVER THE PROGRAM'S PRACTICAL FEASIBILITY. THE ENRICHMENT FACILITIES TO BE UNCLASSIFIED

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BUILT IN BRAZIL UNDER THE ACCORD WITH THE GERMANS MAKE USE OF AN EXPERIMENTAL "JET NOZZLE" TECHNIQUE THAT HAS NEVER BEEN USED ON AN INDUSTRIAL SCALE. MOREOVER, THE PROCESS CONSUMES 20 TIMES MORE ENERGY THAN ENRICHMENT TECHNIQUES NOW IN USE ELSEWHERE.

44. THE QUESTION HAS ARISEN ALSO WHETHER THERE ARE ENOUGH URANIUM DEPOSITS IN BRAZIL. PROVEN RESERVES NOW ADD UP TO 10,000 TONS, WITH ANOTHER 10,000 TONS LISTED AS PROBABLE. THE GERMAN REACTORS WILL REQUIRE ABOUT 3,500 TONS OF URANIUM A YEAR, AND UNLESS LARGE NEW DEPOSITS ARE DISCOVERED BRAZIL'S ASPIRATIONS FOR A NUCLEAR ENERGY

PROGRAM, INDEPENDENT OF FOREIGN SUPPLY, WILL VANISH.

45. THE SUDDEN SOURING OF UNITED STATES-BRAZILIAN DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS OVER THE NUCLEAR ACCORD HAS LED TO SPECULATION THAT THE DISAGREEMENTS COULD SPILL OVER INTO THE ECONOMIC SPHERE.

46. THE UNITED STATES REMAINS THE LARGEST SOURCE OF FOREIGN INVESTMENT HERE, ACCOUNTING FOR \$4 BILLION, OR ABOUT A THIRD OF THE TOTAL. THE UNITED STATES IS ALSO BRAZIL'S LARGEST MARKET ABROAD. AND UNITED STATES PRIVATE BANKS HOLD ABOUT HALF OF THE COUNTRY'S FOREIGN DEBT.

47. SPOKESMEN FOR BOTH THE UNITED STATES AND BRAZILIAN BUSINESS COMMUNITIES HAVE SOUGHT TO PLAY DOWN THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE CLASHES OVER NUCLEAR POLICY, MILITARY AID AND HUMAN RIGHTS.

48. COMMENTING ON THE ABROGATION BY BRAZIL OF THE MILITARY ASSISTANCE PACT WITH THE UNITED STATES, DAVID WICKER, THE PRESIDENT OF THE AMERICAN CHAMBER OF COMMERCE FOR BRAZIL, SAID:

49. "THE EPISODE DOES NOT MODIFY IN ANY WAY THE ECONOMIC UNCLASSIFIED

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RELATIONS BETWEEN BRAZIL AND THE UNITED STATES, SINCE, BEING POLITICAL, IT IS A TRANSITORY PROBLEM, WHILE ECONOMIC INTERESTS ARE PERMANENT ONES."

50. "THE POLITICAL PROBLEMS BETWEEN BRAZIL AND THE UNITED STATES ARE LIKE FAMILY QUARRELS," SAID JAMES HAMMOND JR., A DIRECTOR WITH THE COUNCIL OF THE AMERICAS, AN INFLUENTIAL GROUP REPRESENTING LARGE UNITED STATES INVESTORS IN LATIN AMERICA. "LIKE CLOUDS, THEY QUICKLY PASS."

51. "THERE ARE BOUND TO BE SCARS," A LATIN AMERICAN AMBASSADOR SAID. "IF BRAZIL SALVAGES THE NUCLEAR ACCORD, WE WILL SEE A CONFIDENTLY NATIONALISTIC AND ANTI-AMERICAN FEELING EMERGE. IF THE BRAZILIANS HAVE TO GIVE IN, WE WILL SEE A BITTERLY NATIONALISTIC AND ANTI-AMERICAN SPIRIT."

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